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A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT  
CORINTH

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II. TIBERIUS

[PLATES VIII-IX]

THE veiled portrait head which is now to be considered was found lying face downward in a stratum of soft reddish earth just within the east wall of the Roman basilica before mentioned.<sup>1</sup> As was the case with the other sculptures discovered in this region, the statue to which the head originally belonged, seems to have stood on an upper floor of the basilica, and was overthrown and shattered in the general ruin incident to the earthquake which destroyed the building. As far as I could determine, no other certain fragments of this work were recovered, although there were brought to light several bits that may well have belonged to it, *e.g.*, a fragment of well worked marble drapery which was found close beside the head, two small pieces of a leg or arm showing traces of dowelling, and two bits of carefully worked marble fingers less than twice life size. The layer of soft earth in which the head was imbedded and to which it doubtless owed its almost perfect preservation was made up apparently of decayed vegetable matter, perhaps the remains of the shattered planks and beams of the floor above, the gradual decay and settling of which had carried the head to the lower level unharmed. When found it was at a depth of between three and four meters.

The head is of an exceedingly fine grained Pentelic marble, white, with little or no signs of weathering, and is preserved from the base of the neck to the top of the veil (cf. PLATE VIII); the break at the neck is diagonal, sloping sharply upward from front to back and extending to the folds of the veil below the ears; the rim of the right ear is also chipped, and a considerable portion of the edge of the veil above is missing. The face itself is perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 142 f.



PORTRAIT OF TIBERIUS: CORINTH.



PROFILE OF TIBERIUS: CORINTH.

preserved; scarcely a scratch can be detected on its surface. In scale the work conforms closely to the Augustus,<sup>1</sup> i.e., it is about one half larger than nature, its total height as it stands being .35 to .40 m.,<sup>2</sup> and judging from the circumstance of the veiling we may conclude that it belonged to a statue of similar type. The head is turned a bit to the right and inclined slightly backward and upward in the same direction, while the neck, due perhaps to the breaking away of the veil which shadowed it, appears rather thick and awkward in proportion to the size of the face. The most striking characteristics of the portrait as a whole are the very subtle modelling of the flesh surfaces, the light curly beard of remarkably fine impressionistic modelling upon the line of the jaw (cf. PLATE IX), the free and plastic rendering of the hair, and the three-fold edging of the veil with its curiously flattened loop at the top. As in the Augustus, the back of the head and veil is crudely rounded off, showing that the statue was made to stand in a niche, or against the wall; and as in the former work, so here too, we note the grotesque forward position of the ears, a trait found to be characteristic of this type of representation.<sup>3</sup>

Before passing on to the iconography of the portrait there are a few details of technique which demand attention. First, the eyes are fairly wide, with a distinct upward cast and a rather dreamy expression (cf. PLATE VIII); both the upper and lower lids are in clear relief, while the former overlap markedly at the outer corners. Though prominent, the eyes are not set forward in their sockets, and the eyeballs are treated in the flat and impressionistic manner already noted in the Augustus; an unusual detail appears at the inner corners, however, in the form of a membranous tissue inside the lids.<sup>4</sup> No trace of paint or incision is observable on the surface of the eyeball. The brows are strongly arched and marked by a sharp ridge for the greater part of their length, and considerable modelling appears about the eyes themselves, par-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A.J.A. XXV, 1921, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Further dimensions: length of face .18 m.; length of neck .07 m.; width of face .14 m.; width of mouth .053 m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A.J.A. XXV, 1921, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pl. VIII. A similar feature is found in a portrait head of Tiberius in Berlin, cf. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. XLIII and text, also Brunn and Arndt, *Gr. und Röm. Porträts*, Nos. 19 and 20. According to Furtwängler this portrait is not of Tiberius, but rather Augustus or Claudius; that it is of Pentelic marble, from Athens, and dates probably in the second century A.D. I feel certain, however, that it is an idealized Tiberius.

ticularly in the indication of the bony socket and in the roll of flesh which overhangs the outer portions of the upper lid. The handling of the flesh surfaces is masterly,—the modelling far superior in its delicate play of light and shade to that of any other member of the group, and the treatment of the hair with its thick curling locks shows remarkable freedom and life in spite of the fact that here again a fixed and definite iconographic scheme is followed. As also in the Augustus the drill was freely used, care being taken to disguise its effects wherever possible; the characteristic boring appears, however, at the corners of the mouth and along the line of the slightly parted lips, within the nostrils, about the ears, and in the deeply undercut folds of the veil. Surfaces are smoothly worked but unpolished, and on close examination reveal clear marks of tooling both with the fine point and the fine tooth chisel.

In its general finish and artistic completeness the work is much superior to the head of Augustus; it possesses, moreover, a distinct and striking personality, not altogether pleasing perhaps, yet far removed from the ideal, almost abstract rendering of the Augustan features. This unpleasant expression, though difficult of analysis, seems to reside in the rather weak and oversubtle line of the mouth, although the slightly oblique cast of the eyes serves also to heighten the impression. And yet the portrait, despite its marked individuality of conception and subtlety of modelling, partakes somewhat of the calm monumentality of the Augustus; in fact each portrait bears clearly the impress of a common atelier, but the hand which moulded the Augustus was far inferior both in technical skill and in penetrative and interpretative power to that which created the portrait before us.

As yet no assumption has been made as to the identity of the portrait under discussion. It is certain, however, that we have here to do with a likeness of Tiberius in his earlier years, not much later, at any rate, than his exile to Rhodes. Although this attribution may at first sight appear unconvincing, a close study of the available evidence will demonstrate that the conclusion is well founded.

The features of Tiberius are well known to us through contemporary portraits and descriptions; hence, having made due allowance for the usual diversity in conception and treatment, we may summarize as follows the characteristic traits of the Tiberian physiognomy. In profile the line of the forehead appears nearly

perpendicular save towards the top where it bulges slightly; the nose is vigorous, strongly arched and irregular, and generally rather pointed, the mouth small and receding, and the chin rounded and prominent.<sup>1</sup> The hair is sometimes smooth, sometimes curly, and fringes the forehead in a rather angular profile; according to the description of Suetonius it grew low upon the nape of the neck,<sup>2</sup> a trait not particularly stressed in the portraits, although the hair is generally represented as brought forward at the sides of the neck beneath the ears. His face was frank and open,<sup>3</sup> his eyes large,<sup>4</sup> and he walked with neck stiff and held at an oblique angle, his head and face drawn back.<sup>5</sup> This characteristic position of the head is generally rendered in the portraits, though for the most part softened to a slight inclination to the right or left. Of the less apparent traits, which are, however, none the less significant for iconographic purposes, I would mention particularly the distinct upward cast of the eyes and the well marked roll of flesh which stands above the lid at the outer corner;<sup>6</sup> also the arching of the brows as they spring outward from the nose, a trait more characteristic of the youthful portraits;<sup>7</sup> the shortness of the upper lip as compared with the lower,<sup>8</sup> and the slight upward slant from left to right of the line of the hair as it passes across the forehead.<sup>9</sup> A more subtle characteristic and one most difficult to distinguish in photographs is the very light line or furrow which extends downward on each side from the corner of the mouth, serving as it were to enclose the chin and give it added prominence; this trait naturally appears more clearly in those works which depict Tiberius as advanced in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 1, pl. XXXII, Nos. 17–20.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 68 . . . *capillo pone occipitum summissiore ut cervicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur.*

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *facie honesta.*

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *cum praegrandibus oculis.*

<sup>5</sup> Suetonius, *loc. cit.* . . . *Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf., among many others, the seated statue and the colossal head in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *Die Sculp. des Vat. Mus.*, Tafelband I, taf. 60; also a bust in the Louvre, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the works cited, and a head in the Capitoline Museum, Anderson Photographs, No. 1632.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the works cited.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the head in the Capitoline Museum, Anderson Photographs, No. 1632; a colossal head and seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60; and the head in the Louvre, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII, etc.

years,<sup>1</sup> yet it is generally present in the youthful portraits as well.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there remain to be noted particularly the breadth of forehead and temples, the tapering oval of the face, and the persistently similar arrangement of the locks of hair which frame in the upper part of the face. From the purely iconographic point of view the last mentioned, as also in the case of Augustus, is of prime importance; it appears in its most typical form in the following works: the seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti;<sup>3</sup> a standing draped figure of bronze, in the Naples museum;<sup>4</sup> and a head in Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

Keeping in view the various portraits just mentioned, let us enumerate point by point the characteristic features of the Corinthian head and compare them with the canon as established.

In the first place, then, it is evident that there is considerable divergence in profile (cf. PLATE IX). The forehead is not perpendicular but slopes backward somewhat,—although it should be noted in this connection that our photograph, because of the five-eighths pose of the head, exaggerates unduly this peculiarity; seen in true profile it is much less apparent. As to the bulge at the top, we may assume that it is present, concealed beneath the unusually luxuriant and projecting mass of hair. The nose, too, is less prominent and pointed, and is made to conform more closely to the ideal of classic regularity; we note, however, the characteristic indentation at the bridge as well as the abrupt break in the line of the nose itself. The mouth and chin are much nearer to the general type, particularly as regards the delicate curve of the former, the short upper lip, and the well rounded chin. The profile has, of course, been idealized considerably, yet without in any way altering its essential character; in fact there are extant other well authenticated portraits in which this process of idealization has been carried to even greater lengths.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* a head in the Capitoline Museum, Room of Caesars, No. 4, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 144, No. 1, Anderson Photographs, No. 1631.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the seated statue in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60,—seated statue, *ibid.* taf. 67; a gem in Florence, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. XXVII, No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Bronzi di Ercolaneo*, II, 79, and *Museo Borbonico*, VII, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for example, the colossal head in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 right.



In full face the forehead seems less broad and the diameter of the head at the temples is apparently diminished, yet this same unusual characteristic is to be marked, for example, in the well known bust in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> It is in the treatment of the eyes and brows, however, that there are to be noted some of the most striking points of resemblance; the eyes are large, they possess to a marked degree the distinctive upward cast<sup>2</sup> which is so characteristic of the more youthful portraits of Tiberius, they show the peculiar roll of flesh beneath the brow at the outer corner, and the brows themselves are arched in true Tiberian manner.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the lower half of the face, though not so tapering as is sometimes represented, yet furnishes remarkably close conformation to type particularly in the comparative brevity of the upper lip, the delicate, rather sunken curve of the mouth, the prominence of the chin, and the slight perpendicular lines which extend downward from the corners of the mouth.<sup>4</sup> We note, too, the peculiarity mentioned by Suetonius, the stiff neck and the slight inclination of the head observable in the great majority of portraits.

If further confirmation be required it is amply provided by the iconographic scheme in which the locks of hair across the forehead are fixed. Although varied somewhat in different portraits, the same general division and arrangement of the strands holds good throughout, the few exceptions serving rather to prove the rule than to invalidate it. The central parting is either in the middle of the forehead<sup>5</sup> or very slightly to the left;<sup>6</sup> from this the hair divides in two masses curving right and left respectively, each subdivided into two, sometimes three or more smaller locks;<sup>7</sup> at the temples or, more exactly, above the outer corner of each eye, a group of two or three graceful locks curves sharply inward em-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pl. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a head in the Capitoline Museum, and another at Copenhagen, A. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a and b; also the bust in the Louvre, Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 177, and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. VII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. seated statues in the Museo Chiaramonti, Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 and 67; also bust in Louvre, Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 177.

<sup>4</sup> For these features cf. our pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a, pl. 177, and with Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 both portraits.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. our Pl. VIII with Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 centre; also with Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22; and Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. XLIII.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. our Pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b and pl. 177; also Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

bracing the outer tips of the central mass,<sup>1</sup> while below at the temples and before the ears the hair is brushed forward in a free and unconventional manner.<sup>2</sup> Finally, it is only necessary to note the upward slant from left to right of the hair across the forehead, a detail which is peculiarly distinctive of the Tiberian iconography,<sup>3</sup> and to observe that in the Corinthian portrait the

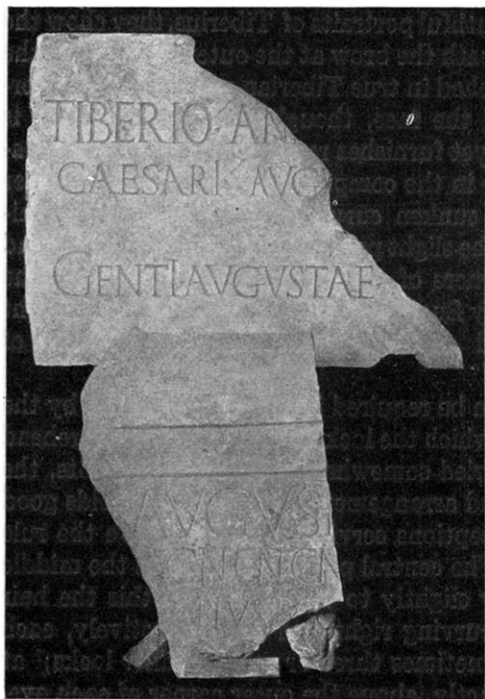


FIGURE 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH.

hair is represented as growing unusually low upon the neck (cf. PLATE IX).

But the final and conclusive proof of the attribution is provided by an inscription (Fig. 1, upper stone) found within the southwest corner of the basilica at about the same level and in the same sort of debris as that in which the head itself was discovered. The inscription, of beautiful monumental character, is engraved upon a polished slab of fine Pentelic marble,<sup>4</sup> three edges of which are original

and show cuttings for the supporting clamps. Although the second word of the first line is extremely puzzling—not only to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our Pl. VIII with Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 176 b and 177; Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60; or better Anderson Photographs, No. 1453; and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pls. VIII and IX with the works last quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. our Pl. VIII with Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 60 centre; or Anderson Photographs No. 1453; also Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 178 a and b; Nibby, *Monumenti Scelti d. Villa Borghese*, pl. 26; Bust in Naples Museum, *Museo Borbonico*, XIII, 42, 1; Statue in Naples Museum, *Bronzi di Ercolane*, II, 97, etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> Measuring .60 m. × .45 m. × .065 m.

restore conjecturally, but also because it interrupts the regular sequence of *praenomen* and *nomen*,—it is sufficiently clear from the context that we have here a dedicatory inscription to TIBERIUS CAESAR and the GENUS AUGUSTA.

In spite, therefore, of the remarkable regularity of profile and the finely idealized modelling of the Corinthian head, it is certain that in it we are to recognize the features of Tiberius treated with a breadth, subtlety of characterization, and fineness of execution which put the work in a class quite by itself.

The portrait is of such an unusual and distinctive character that it is a matter of no little difficulty to discover analogous works with which it may be compared and classified; it is obviously youthful and thoroughly idealized, retaining withal an individuality and power which is entirely lacking, for example, in the Corinthian Augustus. Furthermore, although the great majority of the Tiberian portraits are remarkable for their youthfulness, most of the extant heads show, with no softening whatever, the line of his quite other than "classic" profile;<sup>1</sup> few also can compare with the Corinthian portrait as a work of art or even as a work of portraiture, at least in the higher sense of the term,—in the sense, I mean, of the power to show forth under a more or less idealized aspect the essential personality of the subject rather than to give a photographic reproduction of his features. Indeed, of the eighty-odd portraits of this emperor listed by Bernoulli, only two—the bust in Munich and the Florentine cameo—are described by him as "*idealisiert*," although there are several others in which this tendency is observable to a considerable degree. Of the material available, therefore, the following works appear the more important and afford the closest analogies to the portrait at Corinth:

1. Bust in the Glyptothek, Munich, No. 314.<sup>2</sup> Tiberius is represented in early manhood, greatly idealized, with broad forehead which lacks the usual sharp break and indentation at the bridge of the nose; the mouth does not show the characteristic "sunken expression," and hence in this respect is very like the Corinthian portrait. Furthermore, the hair across the forehead is similarly treated in freely curling masses.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, III, 217, 3; Furtwängler, *Besch. der Glyp. König Ludwig I zu München*, Munich, 1900, No. 314, p. 322; and Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 153, No. 54.

2. The Florentine cameo, with heads of Tiberius and Livia in profile.<sup>1</sup> This portrait is remarkable as exhibiting the same tendency toward the youthfully idealistic conception of the Tiberian features. Our portrait, however, carries this tendency one step farther in the softening, without loss of character, of the sunken appearance of the mouth.

3. Head in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Although a "doubtful Tiberius," this head shows considerable stylistic affinity to the Corinthian portrait not only in its pose and type of face, but also in the modelling of the flesh surfaces, and in the generally idealistic conception. In addition, it produces a marked impression of personality behind the ideal, a peculiarity also of the Tiberius at Corinth.

4. Colossal statue in the Naples museum.<sup>3</sup> This can scarcely be called a portrait, since in it the idealization of the features is carried beyond all bounds; we see here, however, a different manifestation of the same tendency so apparent in the work at Corinth.

Mention has already been made of the comparative youthfulness of the Corinthian Tiberius, a trait which it has in common with the majority of extant portraits of this emperor. It is very difficult to account for this peculiarity, the more so since we must naturally suppose that by far the greater number of his portraits were set up during the period of his own reign, *i.e.*, between his fifty-sixth and seventy-ninth year. We found the same true more or less in the case of Augustus also, although for him the explanation was quite simple, inasmuch as he ascended the throne at the age of thirty-two and became as it were the type of the ideally youthful emperor. This theory will not suffice in the case of Tiberius since it is not likely that he was frequently honored with statues after his death, and, moreover, his youthfulness is seldom represented with noticeable idealization; as has been already noted, most of his extant portraits show an irregular profile quite unmodified in the sense of the so-called "classic ideal." Moreover, mere idealization would not demand that he be uniformly represented as a youth of twenty years.

This persistent youthfulness, then, is something of a riddle which can be but partially accounted for by the military fame to which Tiberius attained at a very early age. In this connection it will be remembered that, at the age of twenty-two, he was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pl. XXVII, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Furtwängler, "*Die Sammlung Sabouroff*," pl. XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 149, No. 22.

sent to the East at the head of an army to put Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. This mission he not only accomplished satisfactorily, but—what loomed more grandly in the eyes of the average Roman and provincial—he also recovered from the Parthians the lost standards of Crassus. Five years later, in 15 B.C., he led a successful expedition against the Alpine tribes, and three years after that he conducted a brilliant campaign against the Pannonians for which he was rewarded with a triumph. Since he thereby established, as it were, his prospects for the succession to the throne, there can be no doubt that his victories were celebrated by the erection of many statues in his honor. In all probability, therefore, it was at this time that the prevailing youthful type of Tiberian portrait was established; and once this were accomplished the tendency toward alteration would be slight, the more so since the portrait sculptors and gem engravers seldom worked from a living model, and Tiberius himself as he advanced in years would doubtless prefer to keep his more youthful portraits before the people. Even after he came to the throne the younger type of representation must have lingered persistently, since in the great majority of his portraits he is shown as considerably younger than he was when he actually ruled.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite evident that the figure to which our portrait belonged must have been of the same general type as the Augustus of Corinth, must indeed have served it as a "companion piece" in the great imperial group of which each seems to have formed a part. The veiling of the head proves conclusively not only that the statue represented a *togatus*, but also that the pose and gesture were those of a person conducting a sacrifice according to the *ritus Romanus*, an essential observance of which was the *velatum caput*.<sup>2</sup> As far as it is possible to judge from the position of the head, direction of the gaze, etc., the pose was very like that of the Augustus,<sup>3</sup> although I consider it probable that, with regard to symmetry of grouping and composition, the weight of the figure may well have been shifted to the left leg. In fact the scale, type, technique and general treatment of the two portraits are so nearly identical that we may safely conclude not only that they were erected at about the same time, but also that they formed

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion see Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 161 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 145 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Augustus, Pl. V, with Pl. VIII of the present article.

in all probability component parts of a larger whole. The bodily forms, proportion, treatment of drapery, etc., must also in the case of the Tiberius have conformed closely to those exhibited by the Augustan figure; we see for example the same powerful rendering of the neck and throat, the same "stringy" quality of the drapery,<sup>1</sup> and much the same treatment of the hair. It follows, therefore, that in this work we have another example of the neo-Attic school in Greece.

A further point worthy of note is that toga-clad statues of Tiberius, particularly those *velato capite*, are very rare. Bernoulli lists but one, the veiled statue in the museum of Aquileia; he mentions, however, three *statuae togatae* upon which have been set portrait heads of Tiberius not originally belonging to them, and of these one only has the head veiled.<sup>2</sup> To this list I would add a bronze portrait statue from Herculaneum now in the Naples museum, a work which discloses some interesting analogies to the Corinthian portrait both in iconography and in the treatment of the veil.<sup>3</sup>

Before terminating our discussion of the Tiberius at Corinth there remains to be considered the troublesome question of date; and here, also, as in dealing with the portrait of Augustus, our conclusions must be drawn entirely from internal evidence inasmuch as no exact data were furnished by the circumstances of the discovery itself.

We have already seen that the apparent age of Tiberius as represented is practically worthless as a criterion of date, since the great majority of his portraits, even those erected in the last year of his reign, are chiefly remarkable for their youthful character. The only conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that this portrait was in all probability not erected before 20 B.C., the year in which Tiberius first attained to military distinction, being then at the age of twenty-two. A scarcely more reliable criterion is that furnished by the veiling of the head, a practice which, as already observed in the case of Augustus, is open to various interpretations;<sup>4</sup> as regards Tiberius, however, the range of conjecture

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Augustus, Pl. V, with Pl. IX of the present article.

<sup>2</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Guida del Museo Naz. di Napoli*, p. 198, No. 793; also *Bronzi di Ercolano*, II, 79; *Museo Borbonico*, VII, 43, etc. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 172, No. 16, classes the portrait under "Unbekannte Claudier," although he says "Er hat im Schädelbau und Untergesicht, zum Teil auch im Profil, grosse Ähnlichkeit mit Tiberius."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 156.

is reduced somewhat by the fact that, in his case at least, the veiling could not be taken as an indication of deification, since it is extremely doubtful whether Tiberius was ever honored in this manner.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the theory which connects the veiling with a form of consecration in which the *genius* of the emperor takes an important part is vitiated by the fact that no statues of the *genius* type are known in the case of Tiberius, none certainly in which are to be discovered traces of a cornucopia as attribute.<sup>2</sup> Of the two possible remaining interpretations, that of the veil as a badge of the pontificate is, to say the least, doubtful. Nevertheless, I consider it worth while to review briefly the evidence bearing on the question, notwithstanding the fact that from our study of the Augustus we are already predisposed to discredit the theory.

From the entire list of the portraits of Tiberius which are known to me, four heads only are veiled: viz., the toga-clad statue in Aquileia;<sup>3</sup> the head set upon a foreign toga-clad statue in Margam;<sup>4</sup> a bronze toga-clad statue in the Naples museum;<sup>5</sup> and the head at Corinth. Of these, the heads in Margam and Corinth are youthful, that of the statue in Naples is considerably older, while the apparent age of the portrait in Aquileia is unknown to me. We may, perhaps, assume that the last mentioned belongs to the majority, and is also youthful. How, then, do these apparent ages check up with the date of the assumption of the pontificate by Tiberius? At first sight rather unsatisfactorily, since Tiberius became Pontifex Maximus on March 10, 15 A.D., at the age of fifty-seven.<sup>6</sup> We have, however, a bit of evidence which would seem to indicate also a much earlier date; I refer to an inscription in Rome, published by Orelli, in which Tiberius is named Pontifex as of the year A.U.C. 747, i.e., 6 B.C.<sup>7</sup> If both these dates be accepted it is evident that, in the case of Tiberius,

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, s.v. Tiberius: *In späterer Zeit erhielt auch er göttliche Verehrung; wenigstens kennen wir zwei flamines Ti. Caesaris Augusti, nämlich C. Egnatius Maro* (Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 2217) *und L. Cornelius L. f. Men., flamen Romae Ti. auf einer Inschrift aus Surrentum bei Garrucci, Mon. Baeb.*, p. 32."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A.J.A. XXV, 1921, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 154, No. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 153, No. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Bronzi di Ercolane*, II, 79.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp. Rom.* I, p. 119, No. 1; p. 121, No. 25; etc.; also Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* I, No. 599.

we at least have nothing to prove that the veil *does not* indicate the pontificate, since the apparent ages of the veiled portraits mentioned correspond fairly closely to the two dates at which Tiberius is known to have occupied this office. Thus the bronze in Naples would date *ca.* 15–16 A.D., the head in Margam, the statue in Aquileia (?), and the head in Corinth *ca.* 6–5 B.C.

Although the above argument is admittedly weak, it will serve to justify, at least provisionally, the assumption of *ca.* 6 B.C. as a *terminus post quem* for the Corinthian Tiberius. But the possibilities of arriving at a more definite conclusion in this matter are not yet entirely exhausted. We have still to investigate the interesting detail of the appearance of the beard in the Corinthian portrait, particularly with reference to a possible indication of date to be derived therefrom.

It is well known that the beard was not generally worn by Romans of the late Republic and the early Empire, the custom of going clean shaven holding sway from the late Hellenistic period to the reign of Hadrian. But apparently throughout this period the beard was worn in modified form by certain classes of men and under certain definite circumstances, since it appears occasionally on portrait statues and even more frequently on coins, gems, etc. We know that the Romans early borrowed from the Greeks the custom of consecrating to the gods the first beard of youth, a ceremony which was observed at about the twentieth year.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter the youth again allowed his beard to grow, and cultivated carefully not the entire beard, but the so-called *barbula*, which was merely a tuft of hair before the ears and along the line of the jaw. This seems to have been worn in more or less modified form until about the fortieth year, after which a man regularly went clean shaven. If a beard were worn thereafter it would be for some definite reason, unless, of course, it were allowed to grow through mere negligence, as was sometimes the case; in general, however, the beard at this time was considered the outward and visible sign of great affliction, motivated either by mourning for the death of a near relative, by a conviction at law, by the necessity of defending oneself against a public accusation, or by some great calamity. Thus, for example, Caesar, after

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Dio, XLVIII, 34. In recording events of 39 B.C., when Octavian was twenty-four years of age, he says of him “ἀμέλει τὸν πώγωνα ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτὸς τε μεγάλως ἐώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δημοτελεῇ ἐορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπελειοῦτο τὸ γένειον . . .” etc.



the defeat of his legate Titurius in Gaul, allowed his hair and beard to grow,<sup>1</sup> as did Cato after the battle of Thapsus, Marc Antony after the battle of Mutina, Octavius after his rupture with Sextus Pompeius, and later after the defeat of Varus.<sup>2</sup> We know further that on certain coins and engraved gems aged emperors are represented as youthful and wearing the *barbula*, although the individual portraits are proved to have been made after the death of the person represented. A remarkable example of this is seen on a coin of Julius Caesar,<sup>3</sup> struck sometime after his death; although Caesar is regularly represented as beardless in all his other portraits, he here appears with the *barbula*. There is but one possible explanation for this, viz., that it symbolizes his apotheosis as proclaimed by the Senate, and it thus becomes, as it were, the sign of the eternal youth assumed by the departed. Many other examples of the same sort might be cited.<sup>4</sup>

It seems, then, that the beard worn by the Tiberius of Corinth is open to explanation on several different counts,<sup>5</sup> all but one of which must be eliminated if accuracy of dating is to be obtained.

First of all, we may reject the hypothesis that the beard is in this instance to be interpreted as an indication of apotheosis, inasmuch as we have already seen that Tiberius was apparently not thus honored—certainly not until a considerably later date.<sup>6</sup> We may likewise discard the theory that Tiberius is here repre-

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 67; "*Diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summisserit, nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.*"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 23; "*Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret.*"

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, fig. 788.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, s.v. *Barba*, for the whole subject.

<sup>5</sup> Possible interpretations of beard:

1. Sign of apotheosis.
2. Worn through mere negligence.
3. Worn as indication of youthfulness, either
  - a. Before first consecration of beard at ca. 20 yrs.; for Tiberius, 22 B.C.
  - b. As *barbula*, from 20 to ca. 40 yrs.;—for Tiberius, 22–2 B.C.
4. Worn as a sign of affliction, because of
  - a. Conviction at law.
  - b. Necessity of acting as defendant in a trial.
  - c. Great public calamity.
  - d. Death of a near relative.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 259, and note No. 1.

sented with a beard worn through mere neglect of his personal appearance since, quite aside from the fact that no statement of such negligence on his part is made by any of the numerous ancient writers who mention him,<sup>1</sup> it is highly improbable that a characteristic of this sort would be perpetuated in a work of art so obviously idealized as is the head at Corinth. That the beard is here shown as a mere indication or attribute of blooming youth is an assumption more difficult of contravention, particularly in view of the fact that the portrait is so obviously youthful. Nevertheless, it seems to me that, although not actually capable of being disproved, this theory may be considerably weakened. We have already observed that, taken as a whole, the series of extant portraits of Tiberius is remarkable for its generally youthful character; if, then, the beard really served at this period as an attribute of youthfulness in imperial portraiture, we might reasonably expect to find it represented with some frequency in the Tiberian series. As a matter of fact, however, the head at Corinth is, to the best of my knowledge, the only sculptured portrait of Tiberius in which this feature occurs. Bernoulli<sup>2</sup> mentions an onyx on which is represented a mail-clad bust facing to the right, "*mit leicht sprossenden Lippen- und Kinnbart*"—a very doubtful portrait of Tiberius, as Bernoulli himself is free to admit; from which circumstance we are justified, it seems to me, in excluding it from the argument. Furthermore, bearded portraits of this emperor are a rarity even on coins, and few, if any of this type, are to be dated from his early years. Take, for example, the bronze struck at Lyons in 10 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> when Tiberius had reached the age of fifty-two. Here, although the features are rather youthful for one of mature years, by no possible stretch of the imagination can the short cheek-beard be interpreted as in itself an indication of youthfulness, or as so intended on the part of the die-cutter. In fact it can be explained only on the ground that it is here worn as a sign of mourning for the defeat of Varus which occurred in the previous year. All things considered, therefore, it seems highly improbable that the beard of the Corinthian portrait should be interpreted as a mere badge of youth.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with the specific mention of Augustus in this sense, Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 79 . . . *quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens.* . . ."

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* II, 1, p. 158, No. q., pl. XXVIII, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 141, and pl. XXXII, 19; also Mongez, *Icon.* pl. 22, 6; Lenormant, *Icon.* pl. IX, 2; and Cohen, *op. cit.* I, p. 192, No. 28.

We are thus reduced to the conclusion that, in the case at least of the Tiberius at Corinth, the beard is worn as a sign of affliction. This is further borne out by the fact that the hair is also extremely long and thick, and in this respect quite different from the great majority of portraits, where it is noticeably scant and close fitting.<sup>1</sup> It remains, then, to decide to what particular misfortune suffered by Tiberius it should be referred. In this connection we can immediately exclude the possibility of its having any reference to an action at law since, although the emperor and the members of the royal family were still at this period subject to the common law at least in theory, it is well known that, as a matter of fact, they were quite above it. Of the two remaining possibilities mentioned, that which would explain the beard as a sign of grief for a great public calamity seems the less probable inasmuch as public misfortunes of any considerable magnitude were, in the first place, comparatively rare in the period of the early Empire, once the civil war incident to the establishment of Augustus upon the throne had been concluded. In fact the only outstanding calamity of the whole period comprised between the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., and the death of Tiberius was the defeat of Varus in the battle of the Teutoburgerwald, 9 A.D. That the latter should be regarded as occasioning the beard worn by the Tiberius at Corinth seems extremely doubtful since, if such were indeed the case, we might logically expect the other members of the Corinthian group to appear bearded for the same reason. Such, however, is not the case, and hence we conclude that the grief here commemorated must have been of a more private and personal nature. Exactly what this was appears at first sight difficult to say, since Tiberius is known to have been in mourning on a number of different occasions. A closer study of the circumstances of the latter, however, will enable us to select one among them as the most probable. Furthermore, in so doing we may exclude from consideration any private losses which Tiberius suffered previous to the year 6 B.C. which, as we have already seen, is to be taken as the probable *terminus post quem* of the work.

Briefly, then, the losses by death in the Julio-Claudian house between 6 B.C. and 37 A.D., when Tiberius himself died—losses, at least, in which Tiberius was presumably sufficiently interested to

<sup>1</sup> For long hair as well as beard cf. Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 67 . . . . "barbam capillumque summisserit" . . . ; *Div. Aug.* 23 . . . . "barba capilloque summisso."

signalize his grief by the outward assumption of mourning—are: 1. The death of his stepsons Lucius and Gaius Caesar in 2 and 4 A.D. respectively. 2. The death of Augustus in 14 A.D. 3. The death of his nephew Germanicus in 19 A.D. 4. The death of his son Drusus in 23 A.D. 5. The death of his mother Livia in 29 A.D. Of these the last four may be eliminated at once from our problem. We have already decided that the portrait of Augustus at Corinth was set up during the lifetime of the latter;<sup>1</sup> we have also observed the many and striking affinities in style, technique, scale, material, etc., exhibited by the Corinthian portraits of Tiberius and Augustus and have concluded that they were in all probability erected at about the same time as members of a single group; this granted, it is evident that the beard of Tiberius is worn neither in mourning for the death of Augustus nor for any of the losses suffered thereafter, but for a bereavement occurring between the years 6 B.C. and 14 A.D. This can only be the death of one or both of the young Caesars his stepsons.

So far so good; but a serious difficulty presents itself. If the two Corinthian portraits were set up at the same time, let us say *ca.* 4–5 A.D., how does it happen that the Tiberius alone wears mourning for the two young Caesars whereas Augustus, their maternal grandfather, is not so represented? The omission appears the more remarkable when we consider that to the latter their death was undoubtedly an occasion for real grief and keen disappointment, whereas to Tiberius it could not have served otherwise than as a cause of rejoicing,<sup>2</sup> a relief and rejoicing which, however, was necessarily dissimulated most carefully beneath a show of mourning. Several explanations are possible, though all are problematical. We may well suppose that work had been started on the group as early as 1–2 A.D., before the death of Lucius Caesar.<sup>3</sup> The Augustus would naturally be one of the first portraits undertaken and completed, whereas the Tiberius would as certainly have been one of the last; in fact it is scarcely probable that Tiberius, due to his banishment and the general disfavor into which he had fallen at Rome, would have been honored at all with a statue between the years 6 B.C. and 3–4 A.D. His fortunes seem to have been at so low an ebb, and the assumption of his unpopularity at court so firmly established,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Obit* August 20, 2 A.D.

that certain of his portraits in the provinces were at this time even thrown down.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, this attitude must have been immediately reversed upon his recall to Rome,—a reversal further accentuated and soon converted into open flattery by the speedy deaths of Lucius and Gaius, and his own subsequent adoption by Augustus. Indeed there would then be every reason for adding to an imperial group the portrait of Tiberius who also, as heir apparent to the throne, might well be represented under an aspect similar to that of his stepfather the Emperor; quite naturally, also, he would be shown as in mourning for his own stepsons Gaius and Lucius.

The above theory is advanced with considerable hesitation and in full realization of the difficulties involved in its acceptance. However, in view of the fact that there is a considerable body of evidence bearing upon this question yet to be adduced from a study of the remaining statues of the group, I can only request that in the present instance final judgment be suspended. We may say, therefore, that, up to the present at least, the general trend of the available evidence indicates a date of *ca.* 1 A.D. for the Augustus, and of *ca.* 4 A.D. for the Tiberius.

In conclusion I must insist once more upon the remarkably fine quality and the genuine artistic merit of the portrait of Tiberius at Corinth. Not only is the work itself of unusual excellence from the technical point of view, giving evidence of a grasp of form and rendering and a skill in craftsmanship quite worthy of the best Greek tradition, but also—what is, perhaps, more important—it presents to us an entirely new and highly idealized interpretation of the inner character as well as of the outward appearance of a prince much slandered in his own and later ages,—a man whom we may well believe, as we study this latest likeness handed down to us from the mists of antiquity, to have been “more sinned against than sinning.”

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 13 . . . “*contemptior in dies et invisior. adeo ut imagines eius et statuas Nemausenses subverterint.*” . . .